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FILE No. **NBR** 3/303/1 (Part )

TITLE: POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN  
IRAQ AND UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

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8/23/13

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Royal Swedish Embassy  
British Interests Section  
Baghdad

RECEIVED REGISTRY NO 35 17 JAN 1974 NBR 3/308/1.
---

G S Burton Esq.,  
Middle East Department,  
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,  
London.

Your reference

Our reference 3/4

Date 13th January, 1974

Dear Graham,

18/1/74

VISIT OF MR NOVIKOV TO IRAQ

The Iraq news agency reported on 7 January that an Official Soviet Delegation was to visit Iraq for one week for trade and economic talks between Iraq and the Soviet Union. The leader of the 5 member delegation was Mr. Novikov a Deputy Prime Minister. Pravda of 9 January reported his departure, and named Novikov as Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

2. At talks held on 8 January with Taha Al-Jezrawi an RCC Member and Minister of Industry for Iraq, the Soviet side was represented by:

Mr. Novikov

Mr. Kozimen (Deputy of the Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade)

Mr. Mordiyavinyov

(Deputy Chairman of the Foreign Economic Relations Committee)  
of the Soviet Council of Ministers.

and six other members.

Jezrawi made a speech welcoming the delegation and expressed the hope that the visit would achieve a fresh step towards consolidating the close ties between Iraq and the Soviet Union. He said that the meetings would play a fundamental and important role in developing relations between the two countries.

3. On arrival at the airport Mr. Novikov said that his delegation was going to take up with Iraqi Officials matters bearing on economic and political relations and exchange views on the progress made in projects currently under construction in Iraq. The delegation was also to explore the main trends of developing economic co-operation between the two countries in the future.

4. Talks between Novikov and Jezrawi continued until the evening of 10 January and the delegation left Baghdad on 11 January. The final report of the meeting stated that "The two parties reviewed the work done by specialised committees. The heads of the two delegations express satisfaction at the results yielded and that the spirit of friendship and understanding that prevailed throughout the talks.

5. On leaving Mr. Novikov expressed thanks for the warm welcome and hospitality accorded to the delegation during their visit and

/thanked

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2.

thanked the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the Iraqi Government for having facilitated the task of the Soviet delegation. They were seen off by Jezrawi, two Under Secretaries, and Fakhri Qaddouri, Head of Economic Affairs at the RCC.

6. Considerably less publicity has been given to this visit than to that of a delegation the week before from the Soviet State of Moldavia. Mr. Novikov spent two hours with Saddam Hussein, but does not appear to have seen the President, and no information has been published on the meat of his discussions with Jezrawi.

*Yours ever*

*Ian.*

I. McCluney

c.c. Chancery Moscow  
EESD, FCO

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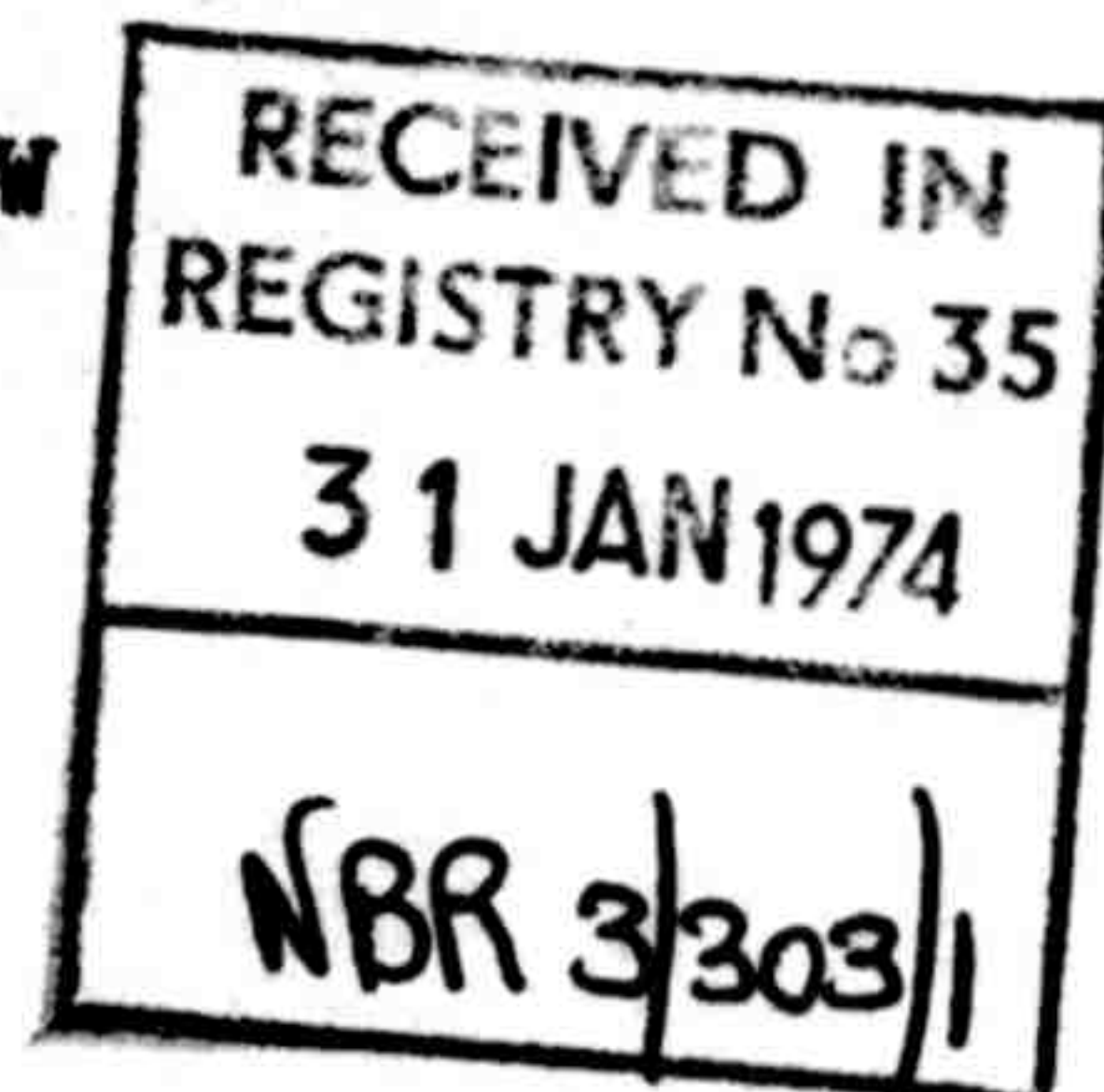
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(2)



BRITISH EMBASSY

MOSCOW



G S Burton Esq  
NENAD  
FCO  
LONDON

30 January 1974

*cc. Energy Dept.  
RAF 7/2*

*Jean Burton,*

*Mr. Young - to see  
Mr. 4/2  
Mr. 4/2*

*(1) 1/2  
ja*

**VISIT OF MR NOVIKOV TO IRAQ**

1. Ian McCluney's letter from Baghdad of 13 January gave details of Novikov's programme in Baghdad from 7 - 11 January.
2. We gather from our American colleagues that, according to their reports from the Middle East, Novikov's visit was not considered to have gone very well. The relative lack of publicity given to the visit in the Iraqi press (para 6 of McCluney's letter) was matched by almost total silence about the delegation's activities in Soviet newspapers.
3. The assumption among colleagues here, which the Americans are convinced is true, is that the sole reason for the visit was the continuing difficulties over Iraqi oil supplies to the USSR. Our own information from Arab contacts is that Iraqis have cut off at least part of the supply of oil, and are demanding a particularly high price in hard currency. The Americans here have the same information. The French Ambassador told the Ambassador on 24 January, however, that he thought that the Russians had agreed to pay the "new" price. He added, without giving details, that French firms had been discussing with the Russians the supply of oil to France but had found the price "very high". According to a BP representative, to whom we spoke in Moscow this week, the Russians had told BP(France) that they were unable to supply Russian oil in 1974, but had offered Iraqi oil from the Rumaila fields at prices close to the posted price for Middle East oil. The Italians have also told us that the Italian oil company API had a team in Moscow in mid-January negotiating its 1974 oil imports from the USSR, and that they were told that there was no Soviet oil available for them, but that they could buy from the Soviet Union Iraqi oil at \$17 a barrel. They were asked to make up their minds within five days (we have not yet heard what they decided).
4. In short, it would seem that the Russians either have already agreed to pay the new price to the Iraqis, or are now reconciled to the necessity to do so and are doing their best to avoid having to absorb the full increased cost in hard currency by passing certain quantities on to their Western customers.

*Yours ever,*  
R B Bone

*Mayer Bone*

cc: CRE4, DTI  
Oil Policy Division, DTI  
EESD

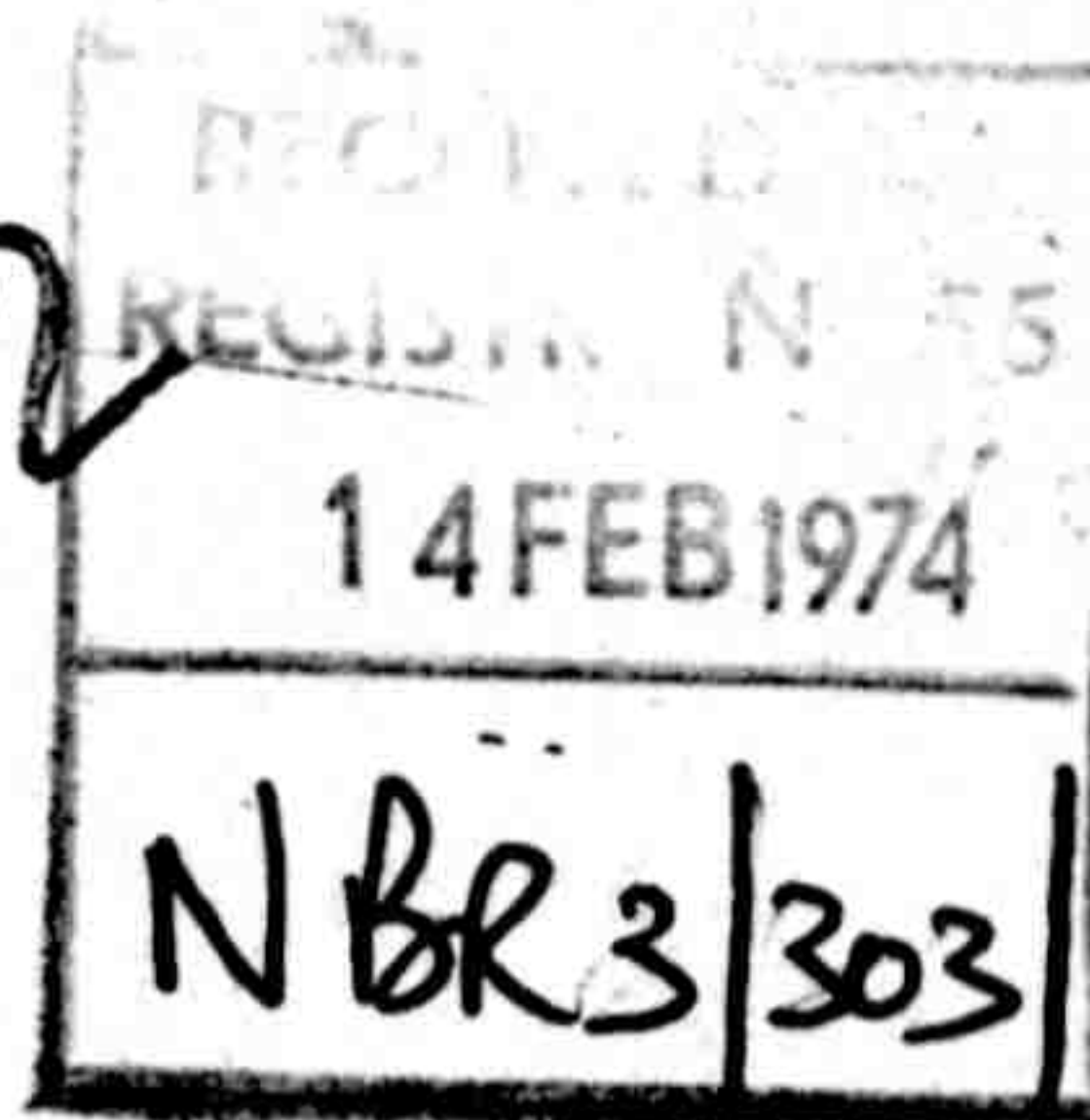
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MINISTER  
AMBASSADOR

cc: Mr Gillmore



14/2/74  
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14/2/74  
pa

USSR/IRAQ

1. Shanqitie, of the Jordanian Embassy, talked about Iraqi/USSR relations during a conversation last night. He said that Novikov's visit to Baghdad had been a failure. I said that I had heard a rumour to the effect that the Russians might have agreed to pay the new price for oil that the Iraqis were demanding. Shanqitie replied that this was not so. The Iraqis had turned off all oil supplies to the USSR at the beginning of January, and this was still the situation. No agreement had been reached in Baghdad.
2. I then said that I had heard that the Russians were offering Iraqi oil on the West European market at an exorbitantly high price. Shanqitie was surprised at this, and said that it probably meant that the Russians were simply testing the market before deciding how much they could afford to pay the Iraqis.
3. Shanqitie is a normally reliable source, and he emphasised that his own information came directly from the Iraqi Embassy here. This suggests that the French Ambassador's view was a little premature, but otherwise confirms the line I reported last week (my letter to Burton in NENAD of 30 January).

R B Bone  
7 February 1974

cc: Baghdad  
Rome  
Paris  
CRE 4 DTI  
Oil Policy Division DTI  
EESD  
Cairo  
Amman  
Washington  
G.S. Burton  
NENAD, F.C.O.





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London SW1A 2AL

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25 FEB 1974

NBR 3/303/1

4

Colonel M A Atherton  
Ministry of Defence (DI4)  
Main Building  
Whitehall  
LONDON SW1

Your reference

Our reference

Date 20 February 1974

*Dear Colonel Atherton,*

1 With reference to our telephone conversation earlier today, I now enclose a short background note on Soviet influence in Iraq which I prepared a few months ago. The contents still hold good except that I should add that the Iraqis, who did not accept the UN resolution on the ceasefire and would not attend the subsequent Algiers Conference, are displeased at the part the Soviet Union is playing in Geneva. I have no reason to believe, however, that the current disagreement will have any long-term effect on their bilateral relations.

2 Iraqi/Syrian relations remain bad. Although both governments are Ba'athist in name, there are many differences between them. Speculation arises from time to time about a possible merger between the two, but in my opinion it is extremely unlikely that this will ever take place. It is not impossible that there will at some time be an announcement about a merger, but as we have seen in other parts of the Arab world, announcements of this type ~~and~~ always ~~to~~ amount to much. Meanwhile, one source recently described Syria as Iraq's worst enemy in the Arab world.

*yours ever*

*pa*  
*28*  
*2*

G S Burton  
Middle East Department



FM CLAIR

FM BAGHDAD 280845Z FEB.



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TO ROUTINE FCO TEL NO 064 OF 28 FEBRUARY 1974.  
INFO ROUTINE MOSCOW.

IRAQ USSR RELATIONS.

1. IT WAS ANNOUNCED 27 FEBRUARY IN BAGHDAD THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN VISITED MOSCOW 25-27 FEBRUARY AND SAW BREZNER, KOSYGIN AND GROMYKO.

2. JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED 28 FEBRUARY MENTIONS :

- A) "THAT A JUST AND PERMANENT PEACE IN THE AREA CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY THE LIBERATION OF ALL OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES AND THE GUARANTEE OF THE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE IN PALESTINE."
- B) THAT "THE TWO PARTIES EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AT THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN IRAQ AND SOVIET UNION, ..... RELATIONS DEVELOPING ON THE BASIS OF EQUAL RIGHTS, ETC, AND NON INTERFERENCE IN EACH OTHERS INTERNAL AFFAIRS."
- C) THE ARAB BAATH SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE CPSU ARE TO CONTINUE TO EXPAND RELATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH AN AGREED PLAN.

3. IRAQS TEAM FOR TALKS HAD AN ECONOMIC BIAS, BUT ALSO INCLUDED THE CHIEF OF STAFF ABDUL JABBAR SHANSHAL. (HIS ONLY SUPERIOR IS PRESIDENT BAKR AS MINISTER OF DEFENCE).

MCCLUNEY

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TO PRIORITY FCO TELNO 205 OF 28 FEBRUARY INFO ROUTINE CAIRO, TEL AVIV, DAMASCUS, BAGHDAD, WASHINGTON, AMMAN.

IRAQ/USSR

15/3  
pa

VISIT TO MOSCOW BY SADDAM HUSSEIN

1. THE SOVIET CENTRAL PRESS ON 28 FEBRUARY REPORTED A VISIT TO MOSCOW FROM 25 TO 27 FEBRUARY AT THE INVITATION OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT BY SADDAM HUSSEIN, DEPUTY GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE REGIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE BAATHIST PARTY, AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE IRAQI REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL. HE WAS RECEIVED BY BREZHNEV AND HELD TALKS WITH KOSYGIN.
2. THE COMMUNIQUE REFERRED TO BOTH SIDES' ENDORSEMENT OF THE 'STABLE CHARACTER' OF SOVIET/IRAQI RELATIONS, AND THEIR INTENTION FURTHER TO STRENGTHEN COOPERATION IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FIELDS. 'THE SIDES NOTED CONCRETE STEPS AND MEASURES TOWARDS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE OBJECTIVES'. 'THE SIDES AGREED TO CONTINUE TO DEEPEN THE TIES BETWEEN THE CPSU AND BAATHIST PARTY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CURRENT AGREED PLAN FOR PARTY COOPERATION'. ON THE ME SITUATION, THE TWO SIDES UNANIMOUSLY ENDORSED THE PRINCIPLE OF COMPLETE LIBERATION OF ALL OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORY AND THE SECURING OF THE 'NATIONAL RIGHTS' OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE. 'THE SIDES CONDEMNED THE ATTEMPTS OF IMPERIALIST CIRCLES AND REACTIONARY FORCES.... TO REIMPOSE THEIR SWAY AND THEIR INFLUENCE IN THE REGION... AND TO HINDER THE INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTRIES ALONG THE PATH OF SOCIAL PROGRESS'. 'THE SIDES CONSIDER THAT THE UNITY OF THE ARAB STATES ON AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST BASIS AND THE STRENGTHENING OF THEIR COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET

/UNION



UNION.... ARE IMPORTANT CONDITIONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE ARAB PEOPLES AGAINST ISRAELI AGGRESSION AND FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THEIR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE...'. 'THE SOVIET UNION ANNOUNCED THAT, AS HITHERTO, IT WOULD GIVE THE ARAB COUNTRIES HELP AND SUPPORT IN THEIR JUST LIBERATION STRUGGLE'.

3. SEE ALSO MIFT.

GARVEY

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ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY  
British Interests Section  
BAGHDAD

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35 -6 MAR 1974
NBR 3/303/1

G S Burton Esq.,  
Middle East Department,  
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,  
London.

Your reference

Our reference 3/4

Date 2nd March 1974

Dear Graham,

SADDAM HUSSEINS VISIT TO MOSCOW

*Copy sent  
Mr 7/3. Enter  
886/3  
pa*

It was reported in the press 28 February that Saddam Hussein visited Moscow 25-27 February. This visit had not been previously mentioned or rumoured. A copy of the press communique is enclosed.

2. From the membership of the Iraqi delegation the two sides would appear to have discussed economic and military matters, though nothing of this kind is mentioned in the communique. Obvious topics might be:

- a) Oil supply and price
- b) Soviet assistance in the Armed Forces (Shanshal is a western ~~aviated~~ <sup>orientated</sup> officer)
- c) Prospects for a Middle East settlement. Is Iraq going to interfere? I notice that Gromyko went straight to Damascus after talking to Saddam Hussein.
- d) Kurdish settlement. Will the Soviets interfere if the Iraq army have to impose a settlement? (There were signs of a high level meeting in Baghdad between the Baath and the Kurds on 24 February)

3. Whatever the speculation, on the face of it Iraq is trying to mend her fences with the Soviet Union to scotch the rumours of differences which have arisen in the past two months.

*Yours ever,  
I*

I. McCluney

c.c. Chancery  
Moscow

RESTRICTED



## NO PEACE UNLESS FULL ZIONIST WITHDRAWAL

(Continued from page 1)

"At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet Government, Comrade Saddam Hussein, Regional Leadership Deputy Secretary of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council paid a visit to the Soviet Union for the period from February 25-27 1974.

"Comrade Hussein was received during his visit by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, Secretary General of the Soviet Communist Party with whom he discussed, in an atmosphere of friendship and understanding, a large number of matters of common interest.

"Comrade Saddam Hussein, Regional Leadership Deputy Secretary and RCC Vice-Chairman, held talks with Comrade Alexei Kossygin, Politburo Member of the Central Committee of CPSU, the Soviet Prime Minister, during which viewpoints were exchanged about Iraqi-Soviet relations and prospects of their development, the situation in the Arab area and other international questions.

Iraq and the Soviet Union have stressed that a permanent and just peace in the area can only be achieved by the liberation of all occupied Arab territories and the guarantee of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

In a press communique broadcast in Baghdad and Moscow yesterday on the visit made by Comrade Saddam Hussein, Deputy Secretary of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, the two countries strongly denounced the attempts of the imperialist and reactionary circles to restore their domination and influence in the area, in one way or another, to suppress the liberation movement and hinder the procession of countries along the pathway of independent social progress.

The two parties considered the cohesion between the Arab states on principles of anti-imperialist activity and for the consolidation of their cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were considered among the most significant conditions for the success of their struggle against the Zionist aggression and for the consolidation of their national independence. The

Soviet Union, on bases of equal rights, mutual respects of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

They also stressed their determination to adopt every possible means to carry on with the development and consolidation of cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic and other fields, for the welfare of their respective peoples; they agreed to take the necessary measures and tangible steps to attain their prescribed objectives.

The two parties reaffirmed that developed and active contacts between the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the Soviet Communist Party would effectively contribute to the continued development of Iraqi-Soviet relations; they agreed to carry on with the consolidation and expansion of relations between the two parties in accordance with the plan agreed upon between them.

On considering the international affairs, special attention was devoted to the discussion of the situation in the Arab area. The two parties unanimously agreed that a just and permanent peace in the area could only be achieved by the liberation of all occupied Arab territories and the guarantee of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. They stressed the solidarity of Iraq and the Soviet Union with the peoples in their right for the elimination of all remnants of neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and for security and peace in the world.

The two parties noted that the visit paid by Comrade Hussein to the Soviet Union and the talks held in the course of the visit contributed to the development and consolidation of Iraqi-Soviet relations and for the welfare of the two peoples.

Comrade Saddam Hussein expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet leaders and the Soviet people for their hospitality and magnanimity during his visit.

The Iraqi delegation comprised Comrade Taha al-Jazrawi, RCC Member and Minister of Industry, Dr. Fakhri Qaddouri, Head of the Economic Affairs Bureau of the Revolutionary Command Council, Lt. Gen. Abdul Jabbar Shanshal, Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, Sd Shadhel Taqa, the Foreign Under-Secretary and Sd Saleh Mehdi Ammar, Iraq Ambassador to the Soviet Union.



Deputy Secretary of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council paid a visit to the Soviet Union for the period from February 25-27 1974.

"Comrade Hussein was received during his visit by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, Secretary General of the Soviet Communist Party with whom he discussed, in an atmosphere of friendship and understanding, a large number of matters of common interest.

"Comrade Saddam Hussein, Regional Leadership, Deputy Secretary and RCC Vice-Chairman, held talks with Comrade Alexei Korygin, Politburo Member of the Central Committee of CPSU, the Soviet Prime Minister, during which viewpoints were exchanged about Iraqi-Soviet relations and prospects of their development, the situation in the Arab area and other international questions.

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The two parties considered the cohesion between the Arab states on principles of anti-imperialist activity and for the consolidation of their cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were considered among the most significant conditions for the success of their struggle against the Zionist aggression and for the consolidation of their national independence. The Soviet Union declared that, as it had done before, it would

continue to support and assist the Arab peoples in their just liberation struggle.

The two parties expressed satisfaction at the friendly relations between Iraq and the Soviet Union which are characterised by regularity and common interests of their peoples. They noted that these relations were developing fruitfully in accordance with the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty between Iraq and the

Soviet Union. They agreed on the necessity to adopt every possible means to carry on with the development and consolidation of cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic and other fields, for the welfare of their respective peoples; they agreed to take the necessary measures and tangible steps to attain their prescribed objectives.

The two parties reaffirmed that developed and active contacts between the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the Soviet Communist Party would effectively contribute to the continued development of Iraqi-Soviet relations; they agreed to carry on with the consolidation and expansion of relations between the two parties in accordance with the plan agreed upon between them.

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The two parties noted that the visit paid by Comrade Hussein to the Soviet Union and the talks held in the course of the visit contributed to the development and consolidation of Iraqi-Soviet relations and for the welfare of the two peoples.

Comrade Saddam Hussein expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet leaders and the Soviet people for their hospitality and magnanimity during his visit.

The Iraqi delegation comprised Comrade Taha al-Jazrawi, RCC Member and Minister of Industry, Dr. Fakhri Qaddouri, Head of the Economic Affairs Bureau of the Revolutionary Command Council, Lt. Gen. Abdul Jabbar Shanshal, Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, Sd Shadiel Taqa, the Foreign Under-Secretary and Sd Saleh Mehdi Hammash Iraqi Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet delegation comprised S.A. Gerasimov, Deputy

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and Foreign Minister of the USSR, B.N. Boncharev, Politburo Member-designate of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and Central Committee Secretary, and S.A. Skotchov, Central Committee Member of the Soviet Communist Party and Chairman of the Foreign Economic Relations State Commission of the Soviet Council of Ministers.



## SIGNIFICANCE OF COMRADE HUSSEIN'S VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Government, Comrade Saddam Hussein visited the Soviet Union during February 25-27 and carried out talks with Comrade Brezhnev, Korygin and other Soviet leaders.

This visit has been a necessary one, for two reasons: first, because the bilateral relations between the two countries are in need of further consolidation, in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation concluded between them; and second, because the imperialist forces and their Zionist and reactionary allies are exerting feverish efforts for recovering their positions in the Arab area through the present schemes carried out in the area.

As pointed out in the press statement issued simultaneously in Baghdad and Moscow on the conclusion of the visit, the bilateral relations between the two friendly countries have grown and developed within the scope of mutual benefit and respect of the national sovereignty of each, on the basis of the Treaty concluded between the two countries. With the purpose of further cementing their alliance, the two sides have stressed the need for deepening and enhancing the militant ties between the Baath Party and the Soviet Communist Party.

The visit has underscored an essential fact; namely, that the development of alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union is an indispensable factor for defeating the imperialist plans aimed at obstructing the march of the Arab liberation movement, consolidating the imperialist-reactionary influence in the area and liquidating the Palestinian cause. In this respect, the visit of the Vice-Chairman of the RCC, and the press statement issued on its conclusion, have demonstrated the identical views of the two sides on the main issues facing the Arab nation. The statement has stressed that "a just and durable peace in the area can be established only by liberating all the occupied Arab territories and ensuring the lawful national rights of the Arab people of Palestine."

Comrade Hussein's visit to the Soviet Union, the third one in two years, has indicated the consistent stand of revolutionary Iraq in reinforcing her militant relations with the forces of the socialist community, and the Soviet Union in the first place, in the interest of our liberation causes and consolidating the liberation front in face of the imperialist plans and schemes. Proceeding from this, Iraq has stood in direct opposition to the designs of certain quarters for undermining friendship with the Soviets, as a preliminary to the consolidation of imperialist and reactionary influence in the area.



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**ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY**  
British Interests Section  
BAGHDAD

GB (MED) w 7.

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35 18 MAR 1974 NBR 3/303/11
--

Head of Registry,  
Middle East Department,  
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,  
London.

Your reference

Our reference

Date 11 March 1974

Dear Head of Registry,

(7.)  
Please refer to our letter 3/4 of 2 March to Burton,  
about Saddam Husseins visit to Moscow. Para 2(b) should read  
'western orientated officer' and not 'western aviated officer'.

Yours ever,

*M. Plant*  
M. Plant.

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8.



BRITISH EMBASSY  
MOSCOW

13 March 1974

G S Burton Esq  
NENAD  
FCO  
London



*En D  
EESD  
PAF 14/3*

*Dear Burton,*  
IRAQ/USSR

For what it is worth, our French colleagues have told us that, according to a source in the MFA here, the oil-price row with Iraq has been settled. The French understand that the price agreed was US \$12.50 per barrel.

*Mr King - 15500  
Liff  
14/3  
pa*

*The Iraqis  
have some  
will.*

*Yours sincerely,*

R B Bone

*Robert Bone*

cc: CRE 4 DTI  
Oil Policy Division DTI  
Chancery Baghdad

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EN CLAIR

FM MOSCOW 160850Z

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SAVING INFO AMMAN, BEIRUT.

IRAQ / USSR

SOVIET CENTRAL PRESS ON 16 MARCH ANNOUNCES AN OFFICIAL  
FRIENDLY VISIT TO IRAQ BY GRECHKO FROM 23 TO 27 MARCH.

FCO PASS SAVING AMMAN, BEIRUT.

GARVEY.

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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MR WEIR

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Middle East Department  
Chancery, Tehran

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- 8 APR 1974  
NBR 3/303/1

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16/4  
p<sup>a</sup>

USSR/IRAQ

1. One or two bits and pieces on Iraq/USSR relations.

2. There is very little firm information to go on in Moscow about Grechko's activities in Baghdad. I recorded in a minute of 25 March the Iranian views of Grechko's visit (to intimidate the Kurds). This is unlikely to have been the only purpose. The following points are also worth noting.

(i) Grechko took with him Admiral Sergeyev: it is therefore likely that discussions concerned the increased use of, or extension to, naval facilities at Um Qasr for the benefit of Soviet vessels.

(ii) There was no mention of the Kurds in the agreed communiqué, other than an oblique mention of Grechko acquainting himself with measures designed to "strengthen the national unity, territorial integrity . . . of the country". (copy of communiqué attached for Baghdad and MED).

(iii) There has been some speculation among colleagues that the pointed omission of any Iraqi response to the reiteration of the invitation to President Bakr to visit the USSR in 1974 (penultimate paragraph of the communiqué) reflects a continuing coolness in Iraqi/Soviet relations (very possible, I think, but not conclusive).

(iv) Grechko returned to Moscow a day earlier than previously announced: but this is more likely to be because of Brezhnev's urgent need to consult him about SALT (during Kissinger's visit) than a direct reflection of the success or otherwise of his stay in Baghdad.

3. Investia of 28 March carried a feature article on Iraq, praising Iraq's "vigorous foreign policy" and its "resolute use of the economic weapon". It also emphasises the "growing positive role of the successful development of friendly relations with socialist countries, above all

/with the USSR"

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with the USSR", and emphasised the progress which had been made during the two years since the signature of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. (abridged translation sent to MED and Baghdad).

4. On 1 April, Pravda carried another article in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Iraqi communist party (abridged translation also enclosed): its peroration refers to the granting of autonomy to the Kurdish region as part of the general democratic reforms in the country: and the communist party is described as "one of the leading national forces in the country". The communist party central committee also sent a message of congratulation to the Iraqi communist party, published in Pravda on 31 March.

5. The above articles reflect the extent to which the Soviet Government are currently trying to reinsure their relationship with Baghdad. But it is notable that, with the exception of the conclusion of the article on the Iraqi communist party, the Soviet press has steered carefully clear of comment on the Kurdish troubles during the last 10 days.

6. One extra snippet, for what it is worth, on a much exhausted topic. On the basis of what they believe to be a reliable source, (which they did not reveal) the US Embassy are very disinclined to believe the rumour that the quarrel between Iraq and the USSR over oil supplies has been solved despite the MFA's claim to the contrary: my letter to Burton of 13 March.

R B Bone

3 April 1974

CONFIDENTIAL



Wednesday, March 27, 1974

401B6223/B 1

A. A. GRECHKO'S VISIT TO IRAQI REPUBLIC

Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Defence Minister Marshal of the Soviet Union A. A. Grechko paid an official friendly visit to the Iraqi Republic from March 23 to 26 at the invitation of General Secretary of the Regional Leadership of the Baath Party, President of the Iraqi Republic and Defence Minister Marshal Ahmed Hassan al Bakr.

During the talks between Marshal A. A. Grechko and President Marshal A. H. al Bakr and Deputy General Secretary of the Regional Leadership of the Baath Party and Vice-President of the Revolutionary Command Council of the Iraqi Republic Saddam Hussein, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, questions relating to the state and further development of Soviet-Iraqi cooperation in the military and other fields were comprehensively discussed, and urgent international problems of interest to both sides, including the state of affairs in the Middle East, were touched upon.

Present at the talks were: from the Soviet side: Chief of the Main Headquarters of the Navy of the USSR Admiral of the Fleet N. D. Sergeyev and the Soviet Union's Ambassador to the Iraqi Republic A. A. Barkovsky;

from the Iraqi side: Member of the Regional Leadership of the Baath Party and Member of the Revolutionary Command Council T. Jazrawi and Chief of Staff General-Colonel Abdel Jabbar Chanchal.

The sides noted with satisfaction that the friendly relations existing between the two countries bear a stable character and are determined by the basic interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Iraqi Republic. These relations continue to be developed and strengthened in full accordance with the Soviet-Iraqi Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. The sides expressed satisfaction at the state of cooperation in the military sphere.

During his visit Marshal A. A. Grechko had the opportunity to acquaint himself with the progressive socio-economic and political measures being carried out in Iraq for the good of the people and to strengthen the national unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country.

During the exchange of opinions on urgent international problems the sides paid special attention to the latest events in the Middle East. They reaffirmed that a just and lasting peace in this area cannot be established without the liberation of all the occupied Arab territories and without ensuring the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.



Wednesday, March 27, 1974

- 2 -

1

The sides resolutely condemned the continuing intrigues of the forces of imperialism and reaction in this area, and expressed full support for the struggle of the peoples of the world for their freedom and independence.

The exchange of views that took place during the visit on a wide range of questions was, in the view of the sides, an important positive step in developing friendly and close cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Iraqi Republic, their peoples and armed forces.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, Marshal A. A. Grechko confirmed the earlier conveyed invitation to President of the Iraqi Republic Marshal A. H. al Bakr to pay a friendly visit to the Soviet Union in 1974.

Marshal A. A. Grechko expressed deep gratitude to the Iraqi leaders for the hospitality and warm reception accorded to him and the persons accompanying him and invited a military delegation of the Iraqi armed forces to visit the USSR. This invitation was accepted with gratitude.

(Pravda, March 27. In full.)



IRAQ: FAR-REACHING CHANGES

G. Marunin, V. Kopytin

The important changes carried out in Iraq today are visible everywhere -- in the country's political, economic, social and public life.

Having embarked on the road of radical socio-economic transformations, Iraq has achieved major successes. Among them is the nationalization of the Western Iraq Petroleum Company, the setting up of the National Progressive Front which includes the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, the Communist Party, independent democrats, as well as progressive and patriotic leaders, the adoption of a new labour law in the interests of the broadest popular masses, and the improvement in the working peoples' living standard. The prices of some consumer goods have been reduced.

Iraq's vigorous foreign policy activity against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for peace and social progress advanced this Arab Republic to the forefront of the entire anti-imperialist bloc and the national-liberation struggle of the Arab peoples.

In the course of last year's October war, during this crucial moment for the Arab nation, Iraqi soldiers defended Syrian lands against the Israeli aggressors side by side with their Arab brothers. During the fierce battles Iraq opened a new front -- the front of economic struggle against Western imperialist monopolies which supported and encouraged the Israeli militarists. Implementing the joint Arab decision to impose an oil embargo on the United States and other countries patronizing Israel, the Iraqi leadership made another, still bolder, step. It dealt a direct blow at the Western monopolies by nationalizing the last two American, a Dutch and a Portuguese oil companies.

Such a resolute use of the economic weapon was not a propaganda means, but a real and effective instrument in Iraq's struggle against aggressive and imperialist forces. The victory which the Iraqi people scored in the battle for oil, not only advanced Iraq on the road of creating an independent economy, but also had enormous international significance, strengthening the positions of the entire Arab national-liberation movement.

In their struggle against imperialism, for the preservation and development of the democratic gains of their revolution, the Iraqi leaders rely on the support of progressive forces both inside and outside the country.



Friday, March 29, 1974

2

- 2 -

The consolidation by Iraq of its positions in the Arab world and in the international arena clearly shows the growing positive role of its successfully developing friendly relations with the socialist countries and, above all, with the Soviet Union. Although only two years have passed since the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was signed between the Soviet Union and the Iraqi Republic, about a hundred industrial and other projects built or under construction with Soviet assistance, have already formed a strong and reliable foundation for building a new life in Iraq. Having consolidated the friendship between the peoples by their joint labour and having strengthened their solidarity, the Soviet and Iraqi working people embody their common adherence to the cause of national independence and social progress in practical deeds.

"Relations with the socialist countries and particularly with the Soviet Union hold the most important place in Iraq's foreign policy... They rest on the solid and firm foundation providing a model and an unprecedented example," -- in this way the 8th Congress of the ruling Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (BAATH) held this January, characterized the Soviet-Iraqi relations. These relations are based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's domestic affairs.

A considerable contribution to the development of ties of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and Iraq was made by the reciprocal visits of leaders of parties and governments, of prominent statesmen and political figures.

The recent visit to Iraq by Marshal of the Soviet Union A. A. Grechko, Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Defence Minister, at the invitation of President A. H. al Bakr, went off in an atmosphere of warmth and cordiality. Discussed at the meetings and during the talks between A. A. Grechko and President A. H. al Bakr, members of the Revolutionary Command Council and the leadership of the Iraqi Communist Party, were questions connected with the furthering of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Iraq, as well as burning international issues.

Iraq is confidently advancing along its chosen path, implementing progressive social and economic reforms in the interests of the working people, consolidating its independence and the country's territorial integrity and its sovereignty.

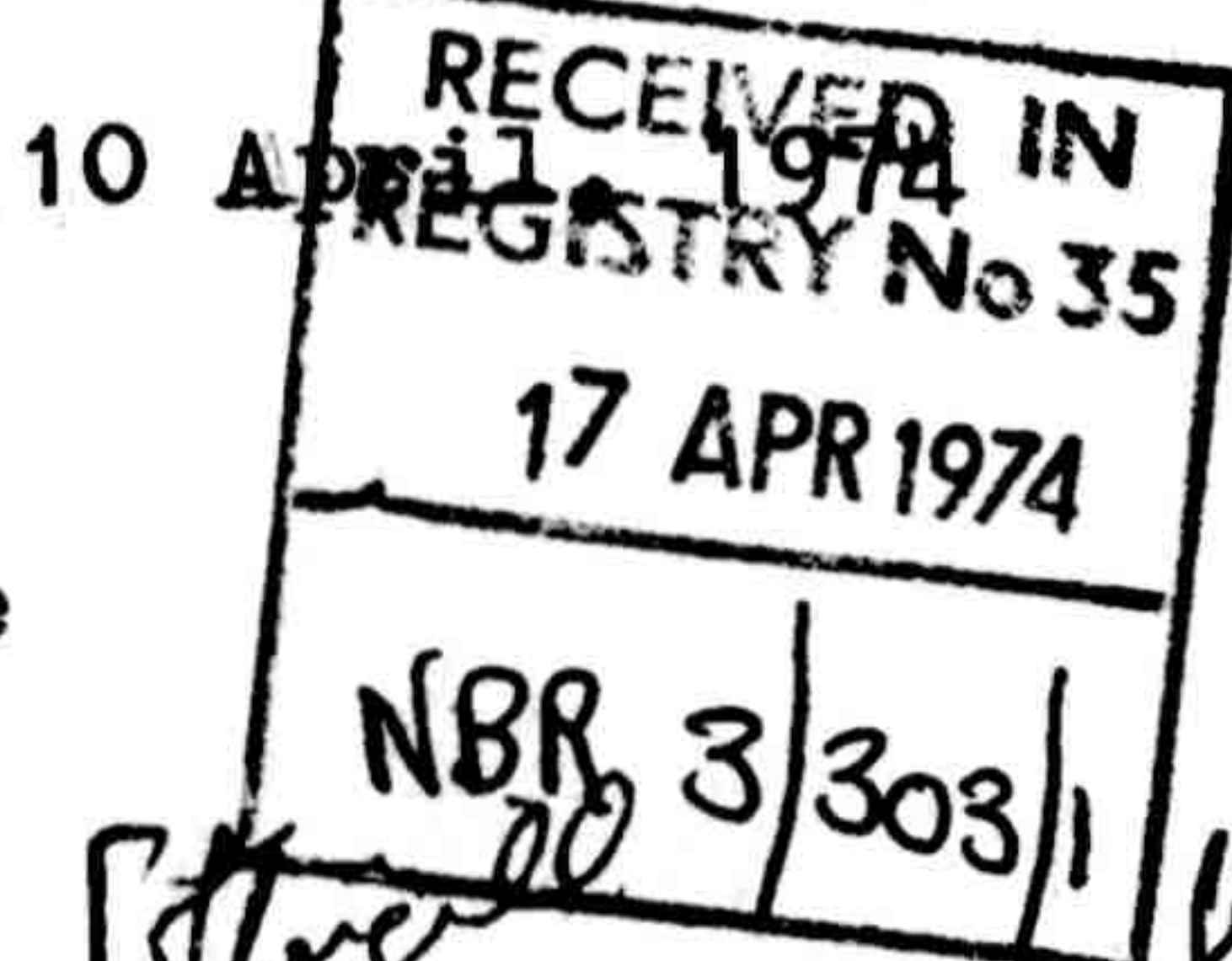
(Izvestia, March 28. Abridged.)



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British Embassy  
MOSCOW



G S Burton Esq

MED

Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
London SW1

*Dear Burton,*

*Miss Fitzgerald  
Do we have any further  
info on last sentence?  
AB/4*

IRAQ/USSR

The Soviet central press has had a number of articles in the past few days celebrating the second anniversary of the Iraq/USSR Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, all waxing rather painfully eloquent on the state of current bilateral relations. One such specimen is enclosed. Its penultimate paragraph is of interest. This is the first I have seen in the Soviet media about the agreement to build a Baghdad/Basrah pipeline with Soviet assistance.

*Yours sincerely,  
R B Bone*

R B Bone

Enc

Copy to: British Interests Section  
Baghdad

RESTRICTED



eday, April 9, 1974

4

A HISTORIC LANDMARK

Y. Rybkin

The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Iraqi Republic was signed two years ago, on April 9, 1972. This event was not only an important historic landmark in the development of friendly Soviet-Iraqi relations but became tangible support for all progressive forces in Iraq.

In close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states Iraq has succeeded in protecting the gains of its revolution from numerous intrigues and provocations on the part of imperialist circles. The country stretching from the Tigris to the Euphrates is building a new life. Its government carries out large-scale socio-economic transformations for the good of the popular masses and seeks to strengthen Iraq's national independence.

The Soviet Union renders assistance to the Iraqi Republic in building over 70 large projects: factories, plants, power stations, irrigation schemes, and elevators. With Soviet technical assistance the country has established new industries completely controlled by the state. The oil refinery with a capacity of 1.5 million tons, under construction in Mosul, is one of major construction projects.

The Iraqi bowels are fabulously rich in minerals, including large oil deposits. In 1969 an agreement was signed in Moscow on Soviet-Iraqi cooperation in establishing Iraq's oil industry. The first fruits of this cooperation were borne in March 1972 when one of the wells in the Northern Rumaila oilfield yielded oil. This area has a great future. After the first stage of the oilfield is commissioned, it will produce annually five million tons of oil and after the second stage is commissioned, 18 million tons. It is planned to increase the figure to 40 million tons by 1980.

A contract was signed recently between the Soviet Union and the Iraqi Republic to build a 585-kilometre long oil-products pipeline between Baghdad and Basrah. It will pump annually up to one million tons of oil. When its construction is completed in two years' time Iraq's central and southern areas will be fully supplied with oil products.

Time is the best witness of the fact that the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in Baghdad two years ago is a sound basis and guarantee for a further development of good and friendly relations between the USSR and Iraq in the interests of the two nations and the establishment of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East.

(Sovetskaya Rossia, April 9. Abridged)





BRITISH EMBASSY

MOSCOW

G S Burton Esq  
Middle East Department  
FCO  
LONDON

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NBR 3/303/1	

*John Burton*

IRAQ/USSR

1. A short report in Pravda on 26 April carried the paper's first substantive comment on the Kurdish problem since the editorial on 14 March (sent under comp slips to the recipients of this letter).
2. The main points of the 26 April report were as follows:
  - (i) "According to announcements in the foreign press, military activities have begun in the northern regions of Iraq between Kurdish and government forces. The Kurdish leadership refused to acknowledge the law issued by the Iraqi government in March about autonomy for the Kurds although it secured for the 2 million Kurdish population in Iraq democratic national and social rights within the framework of the Iraqi Republic".
  - (ii) According to the reports, this decision by the Kurdish leadership would not have been arrived at "without the interference of imperialist and other reactionary forces, which are trying to drive a wedge between the Kurds and the Arab population of Iraq, and to weaken the present progressive regime in Iraq. With this aim in view, they are supplying the Kurdish extremists with weapons and ammunition, and are also dealing out significant amounts of financial help. Foreign 'benefactors' are encouraging those elements among the Kurdish leadership who are against the progressive changes in the country."
  - (iii) "Democratic society, including the progressive circles of the Kurdish movement, and the Iraqi Communist Party, express concern at the dangerous development of events, and considered a growth of the conflict to be inadmissible; they are in favour of measures aimed against intervention by imperialist and reactionary forces in the internal affairs of Iraq, and are in favour of a peaceful solution of the Kurdish problem on the basis of the agreement in March 1970, and of the law concerning autonomy for the Iraqi Kurds."

*Yours ever,*

R B Bone

cc: British Interests Section,  
Baghdad,  
Chancery, TEHRAN

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*Robert Bone*



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Ministry of Defense

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY NO 38 - 3 JUN 1974
NBR 3/303

13.  
Jun 14  
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1974

Dear Mr. Bunker,

We spoke about

attached on the telephone this afternoon.

I would be grateful if you would  
update the piece on Iraq (if in fact  
it needs updating!) and add a little  
on Iraqi/Syrian present relationships.

Also anything you could say on  
Russian / Iranian relationships would be  
useful.

It would be helpful if I could  
have it back by 20 June, please.

Many thanks,

Yours

Maurice Altwegg



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**Foreign and Commonwealth Office**  
London SW1A 2AL

Telephone 01-

Colonel M A Atherton  
Ministry of Defence (DI4)  
Main Building  
Whitehall  
LONDON SW1

Your reference

Our reference

Date 20 February 1974

*Dear Colonel Atherton,*

1 With reference to our telephone conversation earlier today, I now enclose a short background note on Soviet influence in Iraq which I prepared a few months ago. The contents still hold good except that I should add that the Iraqis, who did not accept the UN resolution on the ceasefire and would not attend the subsequent Algiers Conference, are displeased at the part the Soviet Union is playing in Geneva. I have no reason to believe, however, that the current disagreement will have any long-term effect on their bilateral relations.

2 Iraqi/Syrian relations remain bad. Although both governments are Ba'athist in name, there are many differences between them. Speculation arises from time to time about a possible merger between the two, but in my opinion it is extremely unlikely that this will ever take place. It is not impossible that there will at some time be an announcement about a merger, but as we have seen in other parts of the Arab world, announcements of this type ~~don't~~ always ~~to~~ amount to much. Meanwhile, one source recently described Syria as Iraq's worst enemy in the Arab world.

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*Yours ever*  
21 FEB 1974 *[Signature]*

G S Burton  
Middle East Department

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**From****Telephone No. Ext.**

**Department**

## Middle East

# SOVIET INFLUENCE IN IRAQ

1. Soviet involvement in Iraq has been on the increase for some years and close relations were formalised by the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in April last year. The Treaty was an important step in Soviet efforts to strengthen and extend their influence in the Middle East and to <sup>in</sup>reassure with Arab states against further deterioration in Soviet/Egypt relations. The Treaty is similar in many respects to the treaties with India and Egypt and has obvious geo-political advantages for the Soviet Union, whilst giving the Iraqis the prestige of formal big power support.

2. Soviet assistance has increased substantially since ~~last~~ April<sup>1973</sup> and there is evidence of regular communist arms supplies to Iraq. Although a clause in the Treaty refers to cooperation between the two in "the strength of the defence capability of each side" we have little evidence to indicate that Iraq is making military facilities available to the Soviet Union for purely Soviet national purposes. We have no evidence that the new naval base at Umm Qasr will become a Soviet base, although Soviet technical assistance and manpower is employed on the project. There are underlying

/divergence

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divisions of interest between the two which have led to Soviet caution in supporting some Iraqi policies; the most important Soviet reservation is her desire to remain on good terms with Iraq's major enemy, Iran. Though Soviet influence in Iraq is widespread, Iraq's recently acquired economic strength (following the IPC settlement) should enable her to take a more independent line if and when she is confronted by unwelcome Soviet pressures.

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**Foreign and Commonwealth Office**  
London SW1A 2AL

Telephone 01-

Colonel M A Atherton  
Ministry of Defence (DI4)  
Main Building  
Whitehall  
LONDON SW1

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35
20 JUN 1974
Our reference NBR 3/303/1
Date 19 June 1974

13.

*[Handwritten signature]*

1 In your letter of 3 June, you asked me if I had anything to add to the brief I sent you earlier this year on Iraq/Soviet relations. I have no particular amendments I wish to make, except to point out that during the negotiations on a resumption of diplomatic relations between the UK and Iraq, the Iraqis implied that the economic assistance they were receiving from the Eastern bloc was neither as speedy nor as efficient as they would have wished. The major development in Iraq since last I wrote has been the resumption of hostilities between the Kurds and the central Government, over which the Soviet Union has taken a firmly pro-Ba'ath line.

2 Iraq/Syrian relations remain bad. There have been two developments in the last three months which probably cancel each other out. The Iraqis will undoubtedly have been annoyed at the Syrians' agreement to disengagement while on the other hand there seems to have been some form of agreement reached between the two countries on co-ordinating plans for the sharing of the Euphrates river water.

3 On Soviet/Iran relations, I have nothing to add to the Cabinet Office paper discussed on 18 June.

G S Burton  
Middle East Department





BRITISH EMBASSY

MOSCOW

G S Burton Esq  
Middle East Department  
FCO  
LONDON

RECEIVED IN  
REGISTRY No 35

- 4 JUL 1974

3 July 1974

NBR 3/303/11

*Enter  
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pa*

*Dear Burton,*

IRAQ CP FIRST SECRETARY

1. Pravda on 1 July announced the award of the Order of the Friendship of Peoples to Aziz Mohammed on the occasion of his 50th birthday and in recognition of "Services to the communist movement, active participation in the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle, great contribution to the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Iraq." This is a middle-ranking honour which has been bestowed both on Russians and on foreigners. (Another recent recipient was the Afghan Ambassador on his departure.)

2. The citation was accompanied by a message of congratulation from the CPSU Central Committee (not the highest level of treatment, which would have been a message from Aziz Mohammed's opposite number, Brezhnev) and by a biographical article by G Nechkin on the foreign news page. Nechkin noted that:

"The activities of the CPI facilitate both the ~~cohesion~~ of national patriotic forces and the realisation of the course of the ruling Ba'ath party in bringing Iraq closer to the countries of the socialist commonwealth. This course is founded, in particular, on the document 'The Ba'ath Party and the concept of strategic union with the socialist camp', which was presented by the Ba'ath leadership at the International Theoretical Conference which took place recently in Baghdad. In this the need to strengthen the multilateral cooperation of the world and Arab national liberation movement with the commonwealth of socialist states is emphasised.

The CPI follows a consistent line in relations with other progressive forces in the country. It invariably comes out in support of the struggle of the Kurdish people for national rights. On this question the communist party is conducting a struggle against chauvinism and national arrogance, on the one side, and against nationalist tendencies and national isolationism, on the other. The communists come out for measures directed against the interference of imperialists and reactionary forces in the internal affairs of Iraq and call for efforts to resolve the Kurdish problem by a peaceful political path on the basis of the law of autonomy, which guarantees to the Iraqi Kurds national and social rights within the framework of the Republic of Iraq."





- 2 -

3. The same edition of Pravda reported that Aziz Mohammed had visited Poland from 24 to 29 June. There has as yet been no indication that he came on to the Soviet Union for his birthday party.

*Yours ever*  
*Roderic Lyne*  
R M J Lyne

cc:

EESD, FCO

IRD, FCO

Chancery BAGHDAD

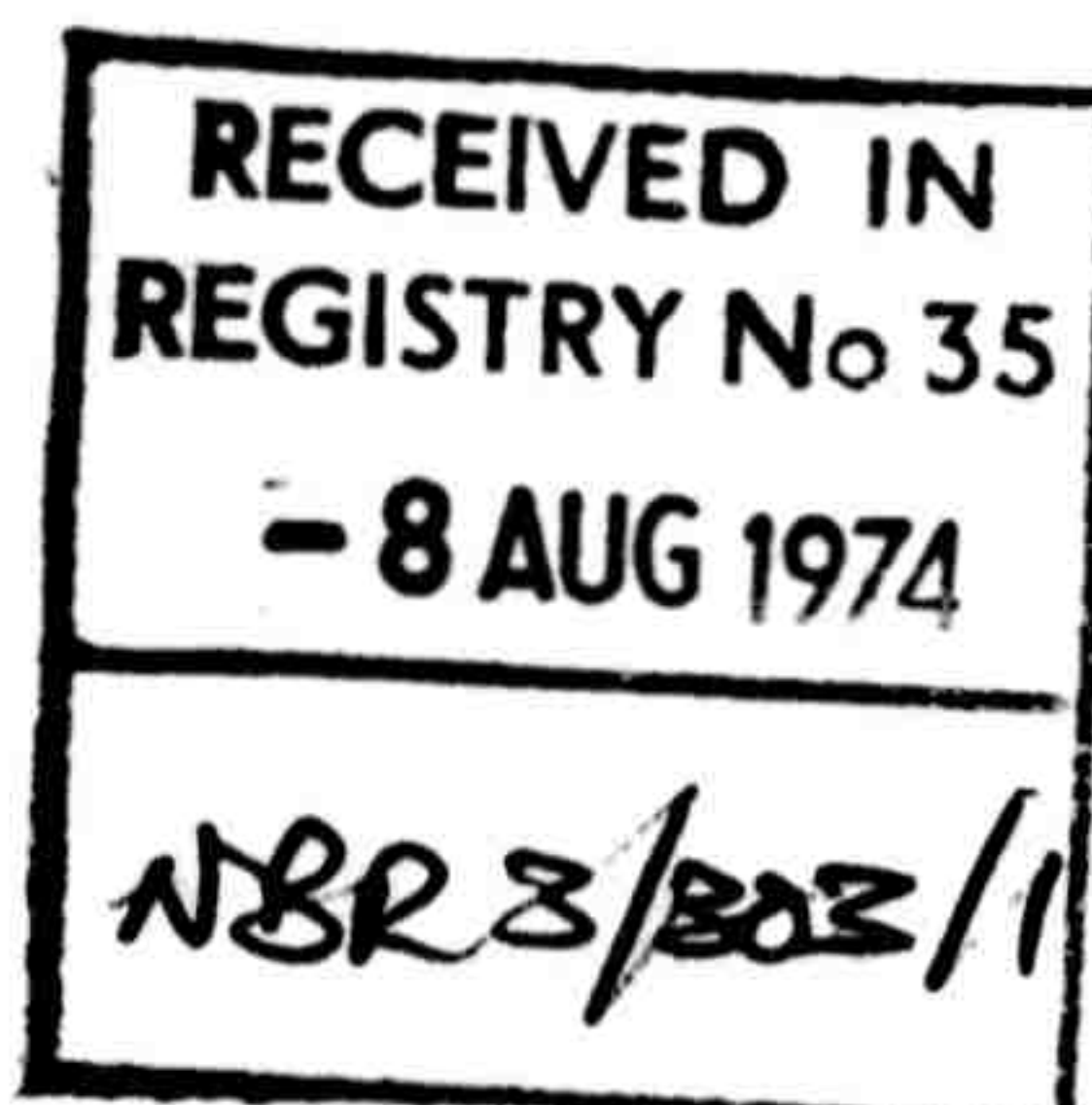




British Embassy  
MOSCOW

7 August, 1974

G S Burton Esq  
Middle East Department  
FCO  
London SW1



*G S Burton,*

# SOVIET/IRAQ RELATIONS

1. I have reported in a separate letter to David Gore-Booth a couple of articles by Tolkunov, editor in chief of Izvestia, on the Soviet attitude towards the Middle East. One of these articles, (31 July) referred specifically to the internal Iraqi situation. It is worth, I think, giving you the translation of the extract:

"Iraq, whose military forces played a big role on the Syrian front during the days of the October fighting, is now occupied with many complicated internal problems. The situation in Northern Iraq, in Kurdistan, is getting more acute. Progressive activists in the Arab world support the basic proposition that separatist tendencies, opposition by the right-wing of the Kurdish movement to the present regime in Iraq, are being incited by imperialist forces, which are operating through agents. The active internal and external policies of Iraq attract enmity from the side of Arab reaction. This is why such importance is attached to the improvement of relations between Iraq and for example Syria, and certain other Arab states. The independent foreign policies followed by Baghdad, its attempts to force the economic development of the country and to deepen its social political transformation enjoys constant support from the Soviet Union . . ."

2. References to the Kurdish problem in the Soviet press are rare. This particular example, taken from a much longer article on the Middle East generally, is in line with such comment as has appeared before, ie support for the central government, and condemnation of the Kurdish opposition as "rightist elements" enjoying support from outside.

3. On a different point, a delegation of the General Federation of Iraqi Trade Unions was in town from 24 to 30 July. As far as we can tell nothing of any particular political importance was discussed, but inevitably the visit produced a lengthy communiqué. A translation is enclosed.

*attached.*

*Yours ever,*

*R B Bone*

R B Bone

Copy to: Chancery, Baghdad



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TO ROUTINE F C O TELNO 1138 OF 19/9/74.

INFO ROUTINE BAGHDAD, TEHRAN, CAIRO, TEL AVIV, DAMASCUS, JEDDA,  
WASHINGTON.

USSR/IRAQ

1. PRAVDA OF 19 SEPTEMBER REPORTS THE ARRIVAL IN MOSCOW ON 18 SEPTEMBER OF S D TAKA, DESCRIBED AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE IRAQI REPUBLIC AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS''. HE HAD TALKS WITH KUZNETSOV, FIRST DEPUTY MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR, ON 18 SEPTEMBER: THEY ARE DESCRIBED AS HAVING BEEN HELD IN A ''WARM FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE'', AND TO HAVE COVERED QUESTIONS OF MUTUAL INTEREST. NO FURTHER DETAILS ARE GIVEN.

GARVEY.

F I L E S

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IRD

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]



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TO ROUTINE FCO TELNO. 1152 OF 23 SEPTEMBER 1974 INFO  
BAGHDAD, TEHERAN, CAIRO, TEL AVIV, DAMASCUS, JEDDA, AMMAN, BEIRUT  
AND WASHINGTON.

IRAQ/USSR.

MY TELNO. 1138: (NOT TO ALL)

1. PRAVDA ON 22 SEPTEMBER REPORTED A CALL BY IRAQI FOREIGN MINISTER TAKA ON PRESIDENT PODGORNYY ON THE PREVIOUS DAY.
2. ACCORDING TO PRESS COMMUNIQUE, THE "WARM, FRIENDLY" CONVERSATION COVERED BOTH BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. ON THE FORMER, BOTH PARTIES NOTED THAT FRIENDLY RELATIONS, RESTING ON A BASIS OF "RESPECT, SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND NON-INTERVENTION IN EACH OTHERS INTERNAL AFFAIRS" WERE "DEVELOPING SUCCESSFULLY". THE SOVIET/IRAQI TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION HAD "LIFTED RELATIONS TO A NEW HIGHER LEVEL, AND HAD SET OUT A RELIABLE INTERNATIONAL-LEGAL BASIS FOR BROADENING AND DEEPENING CO-OPERATION".
3. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, "THE OPINION WAS AGAIN EXPRESSED THAT A REALLY JUST AND LASTING PEACE COULD ONLY BE ESTABLISHED BY THE LIBERATION OF ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORY, AND THE SECURING OF THE LAWFUL NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE. THE USSR AND IRAQ INTENDED TO CONTINUE OFFERING SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE TO THE PALESTINE OPPOSITION MOVEMENT, WHICH THEY REGARD AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE ARAB NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT". EMPHASIS WAS GIVEN, DURING THE CONVERSATION, TO "STRENGTHENING THE UNITY, AND COHESION OF THE ARAB STATES ON AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST BASIS", WHICH HAD A SPECIALLY IMPORTANT SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE "SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE OF THE ARAB PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ISRAELI AGGRESSION . . ."



4. TAKA LEFT FOR HOME ON 22 SEPTEMBER. THERE HAS BEEN NO HINT IN THE PRESS OF THE PURPOSE OF HIS VISIT, OTHER THAN CONSISTENT REFERENCE TO HIS CAPACITY AS "SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL REPRESENTATIVE".

GARVEY.

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TO ROUTINE F C O TELEGRAM NO.1172 OF 27 SEPTEMBER 1974  
INFO ROUTINE TEHERAN AND BAGHDAD AND SAVINGS TO CAIRO,  
DAMASCUS, TEL AVIV AND WASHINGTON.

USSR/IRAQ.

1. PRAVDA ON 27 SEPTEMBER REPORTS A MEETING IN MOSCOW THE  
PREVIOUS DAY BETWEEN GRECHKO, SOVIET MINISTER OF DEFENCE,  
AND A.D.SHENSHAL, CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF OF THE IRAQI  
ARMED FORCES, HERE ON A "FRIENDLY VISIT". CONVERSATION  
COVERED "STRENGTHENING OF CO-OPERATION AND FRIENDSHIP  
BETWEEN THE IRAQI AND SOVIET ARMIES".

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVINGS TO CAIRO, DAMASCUS, TEL AVIV  
AND WASHINGTON.

GARVEY.

/REPEATED AS REQUESTED/

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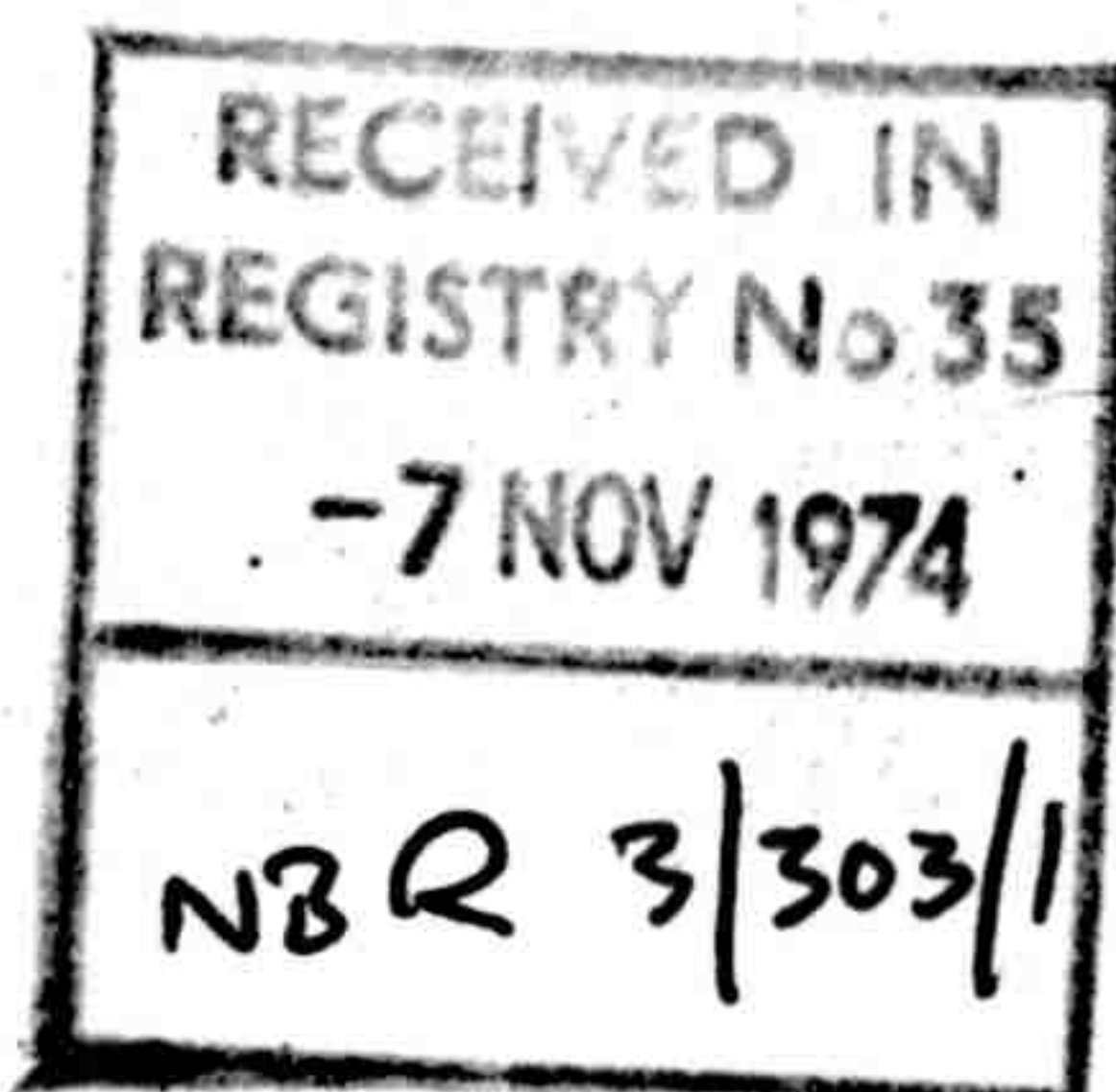
British Embassy  
MOSCOW

6 November 1974

D E S Blatherwick Esq  
NENAD  
Foreign & Commonwealth Office  
London SW1

cc MED

Mr Richardson  
Mr Minis  
Mr Nicholson



*John David*

*Enay. 87/11*

BREZHNEV: M E TOUR

1. You will have noticed the Reuters reports from Cairo in the Western press to the effect that Brezhnev will be visiting other ME capitals as well as Cairo in January.

2. This is just to note that there has not, so far, been any official confirmation of this in Moscow, although it is widely assumed here that Cairo will not be the only destination. An American colleague told me yesterday that a contact in the ME department of the MFA, in answer to a question, commented only that nothing was decided. The Egyptians locally certainly expect Brezhnev to go elsewhere after Cairo (which they think will be about 15-17 January), but they claim not to know for sure. One would reasonably expect Damascus to be at the top of the list, with Baghdad and Algiers as other possibilities, but with lower priority.

*Yours ever,*

*R B Bone*

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Amman  
Beirut  
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S J L Wright  
FESD

R B Bone



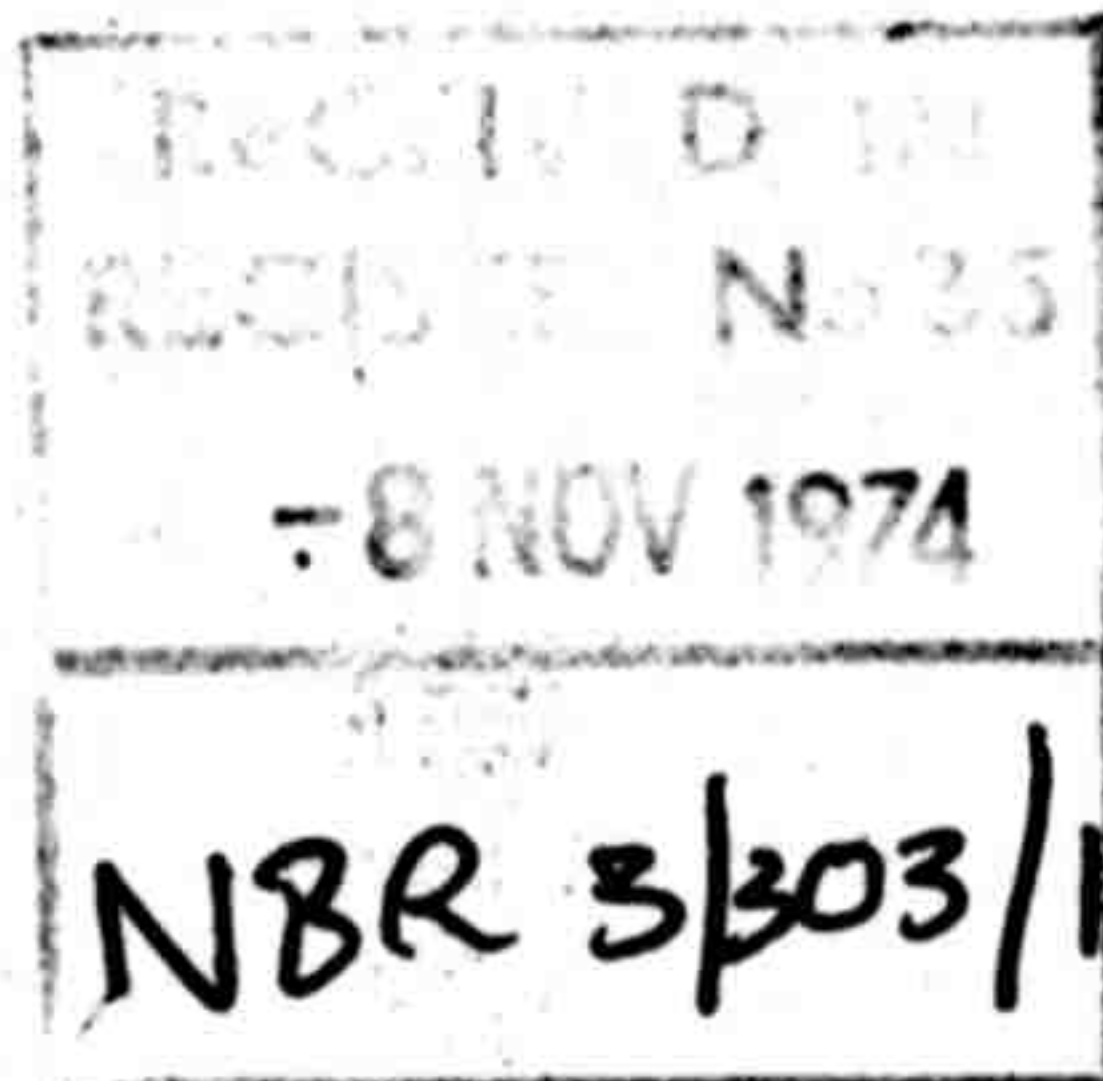
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BRITISH EMBASSY  
MOSCOW

(21)

3/33

6 November 1974

J L Bullard Esq  
EESD  
FCO

① " NENAD  
MED  
② Mr Meyer for entry  
Mr. Wickham JB  
Mr. B. [unclear] 1/11  
JG 9/11

Dear Julian,

## THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT: DATES

1. Suslov's first reactions to the dates suggested for the Prime Minister's visit were reported in our tel no 738 of 4 November. The prior engagement in mid-January to which he referred is almost certainly, and as suggested by Lunkov (your tel no 1314), the visit by Brezhnev to the Middle East.

2. Cairo radio has 15 January as the date for Brezhnev's visit to Egypt. Yesterday, 5 November, the Egyptian Embassy here could not confirm this but our informant there added (a) that he did not think it would be earlier, (b) that he thought it could be on or around 15-17 January, (c) that it was 'quite likely' that Brezhnev would go elsewhere in the Middle East after Cairo. He would neither confirm nor deny that Baghdad and Algiers were in prospect. If he goes there, he is unlikely to leave out Damascus. It looks as if Lunkov is right in speaking of a visit to the 'Middle East' and that Brezhnev will be making a 'Kissinger' tour.

3. Updating my letter of 16 October, engagements which may involve Brezhnev over the next three months now appear to include the following:-

November

(latter half) Shah of Iran, Moscow  
(one week between Mrs Bandaranaike, (Moscow 8-22 Nov)  
23 and 24 Ford/Brezhnev, Vladivostok area  
25 Brezhnev, Ulan Bator

December

5-7 Brezhnev, Paris  
mid-month Moscow, Budget Plenum and Supreme Soviet  
December or early January Brezhnev, Yugoslavia  
December or January (possible but probably no date agreed) Mrs Gandhi, Moscow  
Other December events are Brezhnev's birthday on 19th and the New Year holiday period 31 December and 1 January. He would be unlikely to leave the Soviet Union on either occasion.

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January

(or possibly later) Whitlam, Moscow. The Australians have asked for mid-January.

15-17 (?) Brezhnev, Cairo probably followed by visits to other Middle Eastern capitals.

*Yours truly,*

*IJM.*

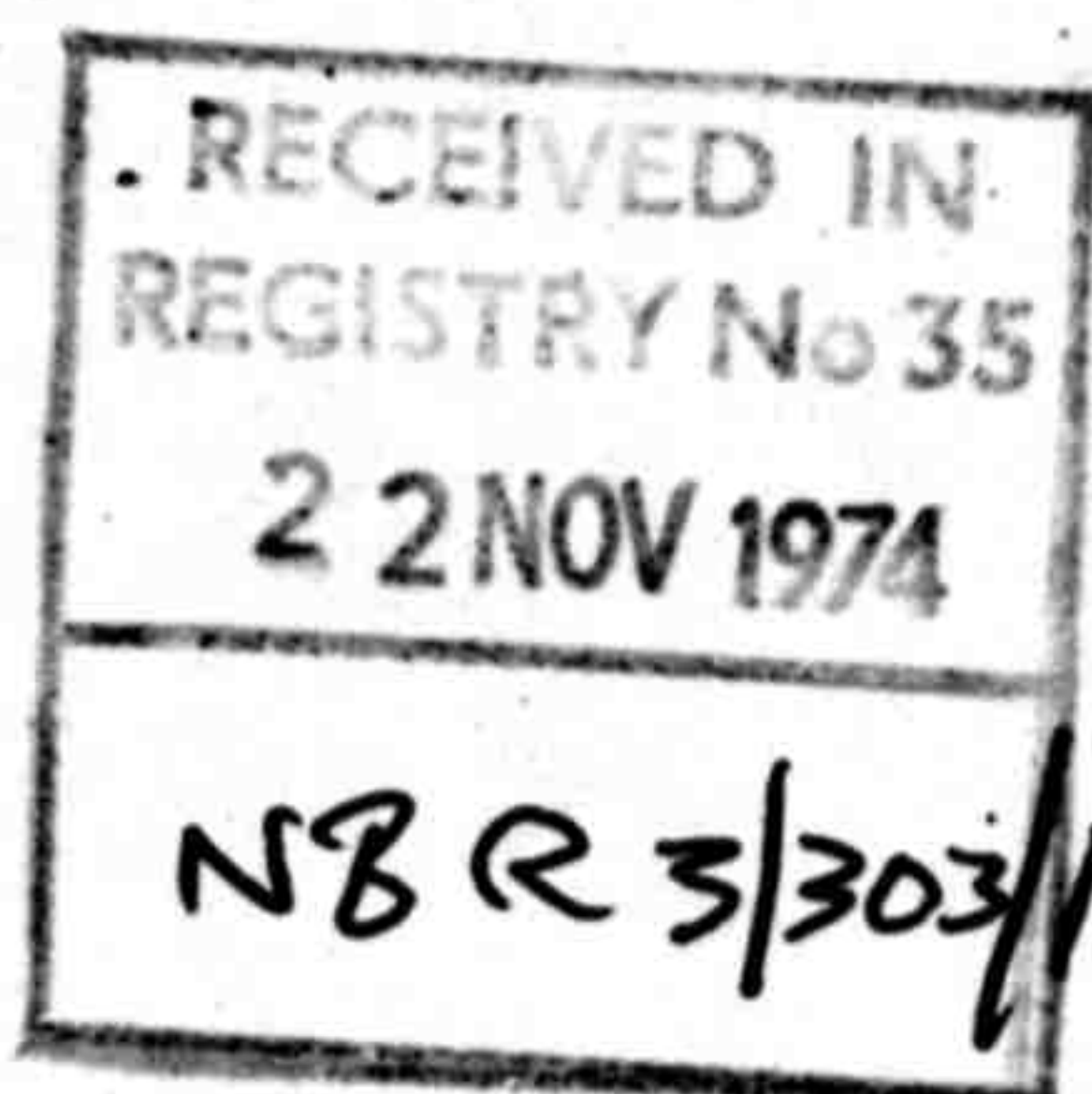
I J M Sutherland



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TO PRIORITY F C O TELEGRAM NO.1377 OF 21 NOVEMBER, RPTD PRIORITY  
TO BAGHDAD, TEL AVIV, DAMASCUS, CAIRO, WASHINGTON, TEHERAN,  
AND ROUTINE TO BEIRUT, AMMAN, PARIS, UKDEL NATO, UKMIS NEW YORK,  
JEDDA, RABAT AND ALGIERS.

BREZHNEV' VISIT TO IRAQ.

PRAVDA ON 21 NOVEMBER ANNOUNCES THAT BREZHNEV WILL MAKE A  
'FRIENDLY OFFICIAL VISIT' TO BAGHDAD DURING THE SECOND  
HALF OF JANUARY.

GARVEY.

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MOD INTERNAL



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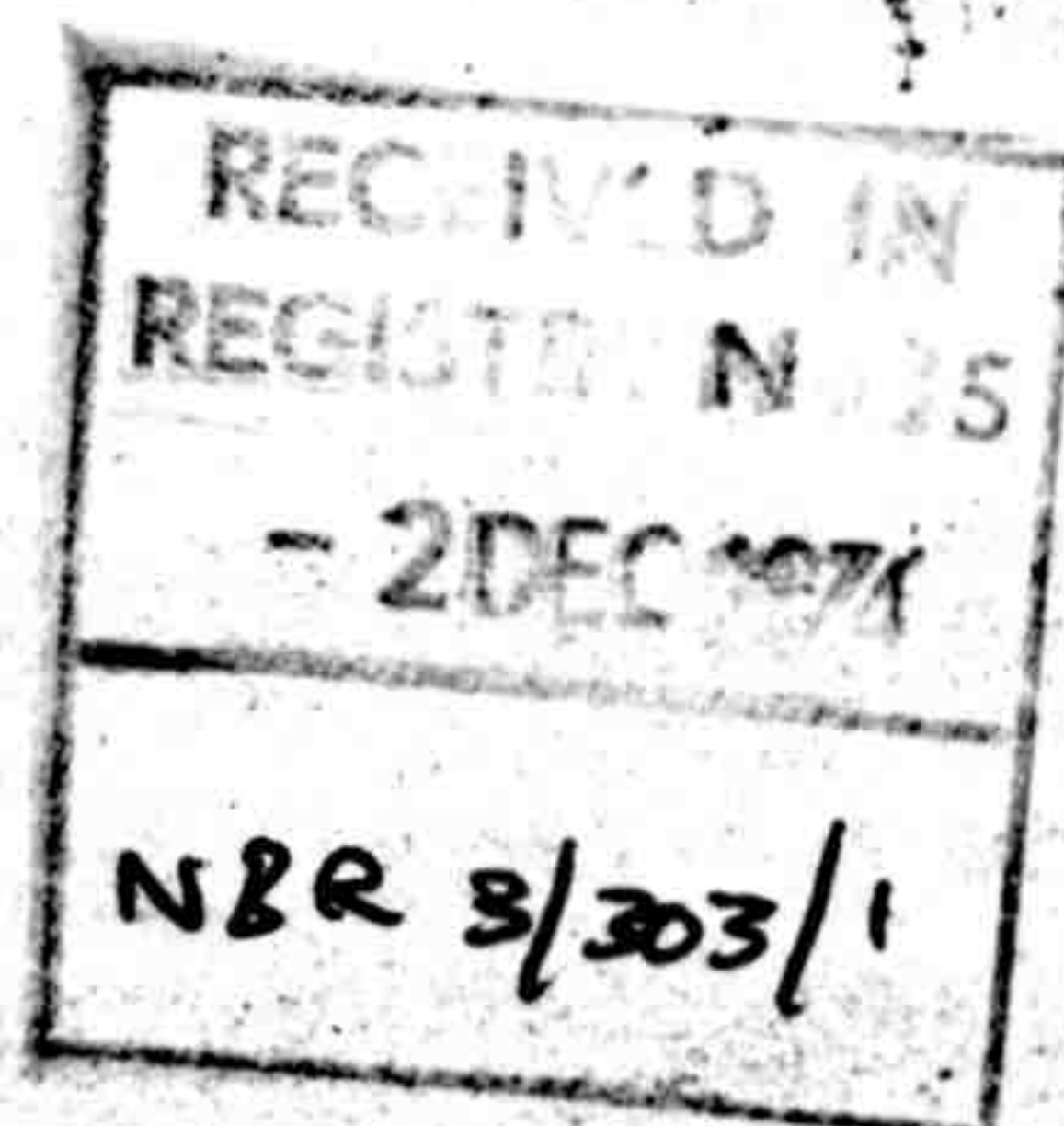
TO PRIORITY F C O TELEGRAM NO.1422 OF 29 NOVEMBER AND PRIORITY  
TO TEHERAN AND BAGHDAD.

TEHERAN TELEGRAM NO.651 TO FCO: SOVIET/IRAQI RELATIONS.

PRAVDA OF 27 NOVEMBER ANNOUNCED THAT FIRST DEPUTY MINISTER OF  
DEFENCE AND DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF, V.G.KULIKOV, HAD LEFT MOSCOW  
FOR IRAQ ON THE PREVIOUS DAY AT THE INVITATION OF THE IRAQI  
CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF, A.D.SHANSHAL ON AN "OFFICIAL FRIENDLY  
VISIT".

GARVEY.

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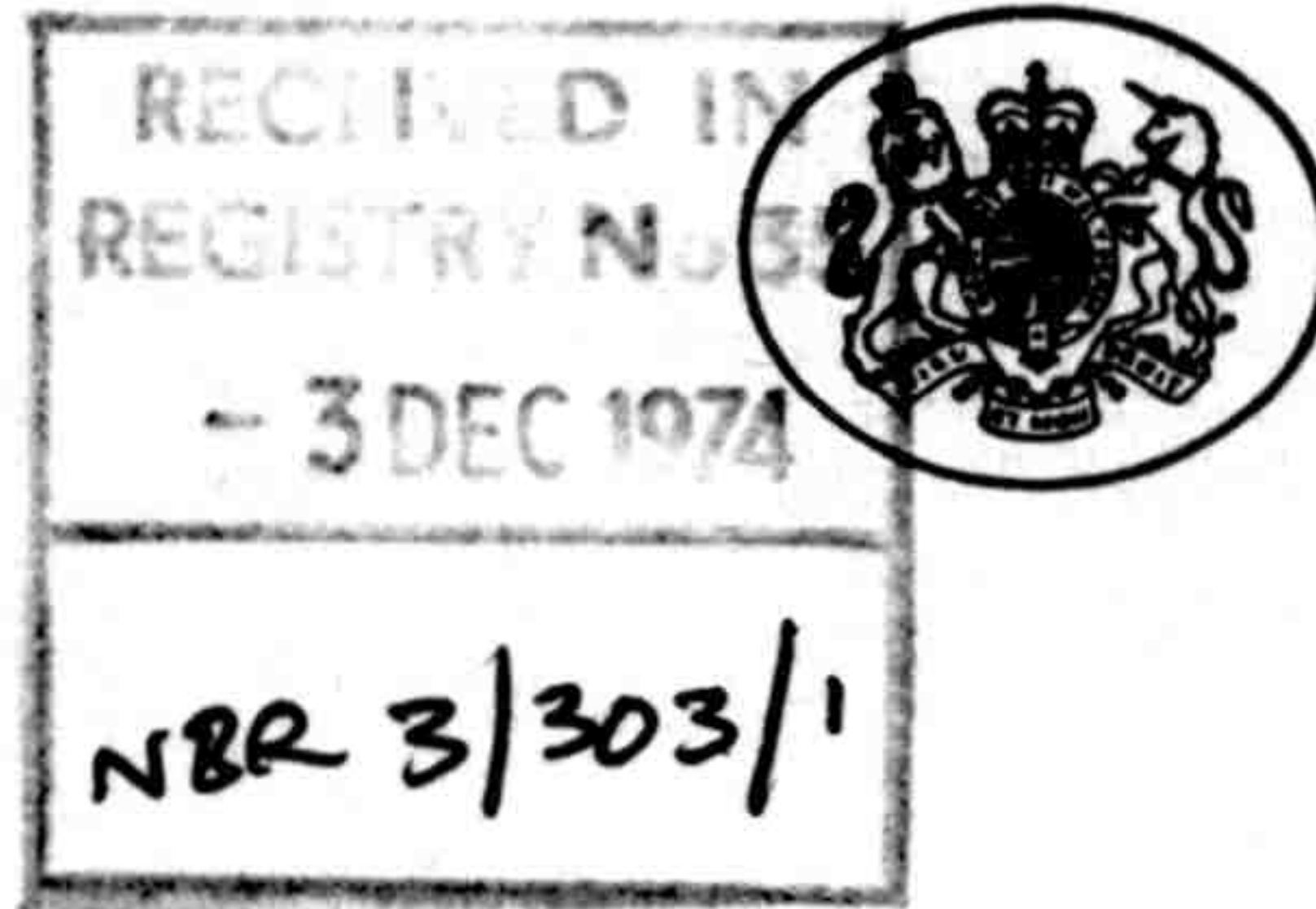
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BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

28 November 1974

G S Burton Esq  
Middle East Department  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
LONDON

*Enter cc EESD  
✓ 3/XI  
15/12  
for*

*Ira Guban.*

VISIT OF SOVIET CHIEF OF STAFF

1. General Viktor Kolikov, the Soviet Chief of Staff and Deputy Minister of Defence, arrived in Baghdad on 27 November for a five day visit and, according to today's press, was received by Saddam Hussein at a meeting which lasted 1 hour 20 minutes.

2. Of course we are unlikely to learn anything of what transpires during the Chief of Staff's visit, but I will let you know of anything that is reported.

*Yours ever.*  
*K D Temple*  
K D Temple

cc: Chancery  
MOSCOW

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(26)



BRITISH EMBASSY  
MOSCOW

G S Burton Esq  
Middle East Department  
Foreign & Commonwealth Office  
London SW1

4 December 1974

*Handwritten notes:*  
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*Handwritten:* Jean Burton.

RECEIVED IN  
REGISTRY No 35  
- 5 DEC 1974  
NBR 3/303/1

SOVIET UNION/IRAQ

1. Looking back through press clippings on return from a few days leave, my eye was caught by the enclosed passage from a Pravda article of 26 November filed by Orekhov in Baghdad. Orekhov emphasises, as is usual in Soviet comment, the importance of "strengthening" the Progressive National Front, and leaves little doubt that the Soviet government would like to see a solution to the Kurdish problem through negotiation and on the lines of the autonomy decree issued early this year. But Orekhov's peroration is, I think, a slightly firmer call for "peaceful settlement" than I have noted in press comment before. This view is reinforced by a remark of the Iranian Minister here who told Iain Sutherland in the context of the announcement of Brezhnev's forthcoming visit to Baghdad that he had gained the impression during the Shah's visit and from recent contacts with the Soviet M.F.A. that the Russians were concerned about the internal situation in Iraq and had some doubts about the stability of the present Iraqi government.
2. We were interested to see Baghdad tel no 455 recording the Soviet counsellor's comment about negotiation by third parties. I would only comment that the Soviet government have an obvious interest in seeing a settlement reached: and we would have been tempted to rate the degree of embarrassment of the Kurdish problem to the Russians as perhaps slightly higher than para 5 of Baghdad tel no 446 of 24 November suggests. The importance the Russians attach to minimising causes of Iran/Iraq friction in the interests of maintaining the quality of the respective bilateral relationships is, after all, fairly considerable.

*Handwritten:*  
Yours  
Roger Bone

Copied to:

R B Bone

Baghdad  
Tehran



EXTRACT FROM ARTICLE ENTITLED "AN AUTUMN IN IRAQ" IN PRAVDA OF 26 NOVEMBER

1. ... These steps in the field of the independent economic development of the country are accompanied by no less important measures in internal and social affairs. The Progressive National Front, around which the progressive forces of Iraq are united, is acquiring more and more authority among the masses. The Minister of State, and communist, Mr Amer Abdalla, in conversation with us, put a high value on the role of the Front in the internal political life of Iraq.

2. He said "we are trying to strengthen the union between the Iraqi Communist Party and the Ba'athist Party within the framework of the Front. The successes which we have already achieved have great significance. Our colleagues in the Ba'athist Party say that the creation of the Front is not a tactical but a strategic step. In agreeing with them in this, we emphasise, that by this cooperation within the framework of the Front, we must try to set an example to others".

3. The participants in the Front, which was created in July of last year, are the ruling Ba'athist party, the communist party, independent democrats and progressive nationalists. An invitation to take part in the Front was also received by the Democratic Party of Kurdistan. This invitation, however, was declined by the DPK leadership. The activities of reactionary elements in the Kurdistan Movement led to the resumption of hostilities in Northern Iraq. This prompted a significant number of Kurds, including some members of the leadership of the DPK, to break off with its leaders and to reform the Party, advocating a strengthening of ties with the progressive forces of the country, in support of the social economic reforms which have been carried out and in support of the law concerning autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan.

4. Life is now peaceful in the greater part of the Kurdish regions. ... The Kurd population welcomed with approval the resumption of normal economic links between the southern and northern parts of the country. It is clear that a course aimed at the peaceful settlement of the Kurdish question meets the aspirations of all the Iraqi people and that sooner or later this course will prevail.





Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
London SW1A 2AL

Telephone 01-

R B Bone Esq  
MOSCOW

RECEIVED IN  
REGISTRY NO 35  
10 DEC 1974

Your reference

Our reference

Date 9 December 1974

NBR 3/303/1

Dear Bone,

SOVIET UNION/IRAQ

1. Thank you for your letter of 4 December reporting further evidence of Soviet desire for a peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem. The progress the Iraqi Central Government Forces have made in the north has clearly brought problems in its wake for Soviet interests. The Iraqis are now digging in and seem to be prepared to stick out the hardships of the northern winter, and thus to be in a strong position to launch further attacks in the spring. If they are able to maintain these positions and given no political settlement is reached during the enforced stoppage (November to early March approximately) there must be a real danger of a serious confrontation between Iraqi and Iranian forces, a situation which the Russians would clearly find embarrassing.

2. Such a confrontation would not suit Iraqi or Iranian interests either and it may be that we shall see a good deal of political manoeuvring during the winter. Given the size of the gap between what the Kurds are demanding and what the Iraqis are likely to be able to accept, the prospects for such a political settlement still remain poor.

*Yours ever*

G S Burton  
Middle East Department

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Iraqi/Soviet Relations With Regards To Kurdish Problem; Visit By Leonid Brezhnev. Political Relations Between Iraq And Soviet Union. 13 Jan. 1974. MS Middle East Online: Iraq, 1914-1974: Selected files from series AIR, CAB, CO, FCO, FO, PREM, T, WO, The National Archives, Kew, UK FCO 8/2313. Newspaper Cutting. The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom). Archives Unbound, [link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5107498970/GDSC?u=sncesr&sid=GDSC&xid=f92f79c3&pg=1](https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5107498970/GDSC?u=sncesr&sid=GDSC&xid=f92f79c3&pg=1). Accessed 5 May 2021.